

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 275860

NODIS

CHEROKEE

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PFOR US EG XF

SUBJECT:SOVIET NOTE ON GENEVA

REF: CAIRO 11749

FOR AMBASSADOR FROM SECRETARY

1. YOU WILL RECALL THAT TASS ON NOVEMBER 10 PUBLISHED TEXT OF MESSAGE FROM SOVIET GOVERNMENT TO USG ON RESUMPTION OF GENEVA CONFERENCE. I WOULD LIKE YOU TO GET FAHMY'S REACTION TO SOVIET MESSAGE AND TO SEEK ANY FURTHER VIEWS HE MAY HAVE ON THIS SUBJECT. YOU MAY TELL HIM THAT WE WILL BE REPLYING SHORTLY TO SOVIETS AND WISH TO DO SO IN FULL KNOWLEDGE OF LATEST EGYPTIAN THINKING.

2. YOU SHOULD TAKE AN EARLY OPPORTUNITY IN CONVERSATION TO STATE OUR BASIC POSITION ALONG FOLLOWING LINES: EGYPTIANS KNOW THAT U.S. IS NOT NOW IN A POSITION TO TRY TO CHANGE MEMBERSHIP IN GENEVA CONFERENCE, BUT WE ARE CONSIDERING WHETHER IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO THINK IN TERMS OF A PRE-PARATORY CONFERENCE OF THOSE WHO HAVE PARTICIPATED SO FAR IN NEGOTIATIONS LOOKING TOWARD A SETTLEMENT WITHIN GENEVA

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CONFERENCE FRAMEWORK. THIS WOULD, OF COURSE, INCLUDE EGYPT,

JORDAN, SYRIA, AND ISRAEL. THIS PREPARATORY CONFERENCE COULD CONSIDER AGENDA, PROCEDURES, AND PARTICIPATION IN FULL CONFERENCE IN SUCH A WAY AS TO LAY

GROUNDWORK FOR NEGOTIATION OF AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT. WE WOULD WELCOME FAHMY'S VIEWS ON THIS IDEA BEFORE WE RESPOND TO THE SOVIET MESSAGE.

3. FYI. IN THE ABOVE CONTEXT, YOU WILL NOTE THE ASSUMPTION OF THE SOVIET MESSAGE THAT PLO PARTICIPATION IN THE CONFERENCE HAS BEEN DECIDED BY THE PASSAGE OF UNGA RESOLUTION 2326. ONE OF THE POINTS WE WILL HAVE TO MAKE IN RESPONDING TO THE SOVIET MESSAGE IS THAT WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT, AS WAS STATED IN THE INITIAL LETTER FROM THE US AND SOVIET REPRESENTATIVES IN NEW YORK TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL IN DECEMBER 1973, THE SUBJECT OF FURTHER PARTICIPANTS FROM THE MIDDLE EAST AREA WILL HAVE TO BE DISCUSSED BY THE CONFERENCE. END FYI.

4. TO ASSURE THAT YOU HAVE AN ACCURATE TEXT, THE FOLLOWING IS THE FULL TEXT OF THE SOVIET MESSAGE DATED NOVEMBER 9:

QUOTE: THE GOVERNMENT OF THE SOVIET UNION CONSIDERS IT NECESSARY TO STATE TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE USA THE FOLLOWING.

THE SOVIET UNION CONTINUES TO BE CONCERNED WITH THE UNSATISFACTORY STATE OF AFFAIRS REGARDING THE SETTLEMENT OF THE CONFLICT IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THE MAIN CAUSES OF THIS CONFLICT HAVE NOT BEEN SO FAR REMOVED. ISRAEL HOLDS AS BEFORE THE ARAB LANDS OCCUPIED BY HER. THE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF THE ARAB PEOPLE OF PALESTINE ARE BEING IGNORED. AS A RESULT THE SITUATION IN THE REGION CONTINUES TO BE DANGEROUSLY TENSE.

THE EXPERIENCE PROVES THAT THE WAY OF PARTIAL MEASURES BEING CARRIED MOREOVER ON A SEPARATE BASIS DOES NOT LEAD TO THE SOLVING OF THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM. IT CANNOT IN ANY WAY LEAD TO SUCH A SOLUTION BECAUSE MAIN KEY QUESTIONS
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OF POLITICAL SETTLEMENT ARE LEFT BEYOND ITS SCOPE. THEY ARE--COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL OF THE ISRAELI FORCES FROM ALL ARAB TERRITORIES OCCUPIED IN 1967, RESTORATION OF LEGITIMATE NATIONAL RIGHTS OF THE ARAB PEOPLE OF PALESTINE INCLUDING THEIR RIGHT TO ESTABLISH A STATE OF THEIR OWN. ONLY WITH THE SETTLEMENT OF THOSE QUESTIONS WILL IT BE POSSIBLE TO ESTABLISH A REALLY LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND TO ENSURE RELIABLE CONDITIONS FOR A SAFE

EXISTENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF ALL THE STATES OF THE AREA,
INCLUDING ISRAEL.

THE SOVIET UNION CONSIDERED AND CONSIDERS THAT THE ONLY
CORRECT WAY TO ACHIEVE A CARDINAL SETTLEMENT OF THE MIDDLE

EAST PROBLEM IS THE WAY OF JOINT, COLLECTIVE EFFORTS OF
ALL DIRECTLY CONCERNED PARTIES. IT IS WELL KNOWN THAT
IT WAS TO THIS END THAT INTERNATIONAL MACHINERY WAS AT
ONE TIME ESTABLISHED--THE GENEVA PEACE CONFERENCE ON THE
MIDDLE EAST OF WHICH THE USSR AND THE USA ARE COCHAIRMEN.
HOWEVER THIS MACHINERY HAVE BEEN INACTIVE FOR A LONG TIME.

THE SOVIET UNION HAS ALWAYS BEEN AND REMAINS A CHAMPION
OF ESTABLISHING A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE
EAST, OF ACHIEVING REAL PROGRESS IN THE SETTLEMENT OF THE
MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT. THE RESUMPTION OF THE GENEVA PEACE
CONFERENCE IN ITS FULL TOTALITY WOULD SERVE THIS GOAL.
THEREFORE IT SUGGESTS THAT THE USSR AND THE USA AS CO-
CHAIRMEN OF THE GENEVA PEACE CONFERENCE ON THE MIDDLE
EAST SHOULD TAKE A JOINT INITIATIVE IN THAT MATTER. IT
GOES WITHOUT SAYING THAT AT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, FROM
THE VERY BEGINNING OF ITS RESUMPTION, ALL THE DIRECTLY
CONCERNED COUNTRIES--EGYPT, SYRIA, JORDAN, THE REPRESENTA-
TIVES OF THE ARAB PEOPLE OF PALESTINE IN THE PERSON OF
THE PLO AND ISRAEL AS WELL AS THE USSR AND THE USA AS ITS
COCHAIRMEN SHOULD PARTICIPATE ON AN EQUAL FOOTING. IT
IS ABSOLUTELY CLEAR, AS IT WAS DETERMINED FROM THE VERY
BEGINNING THAT THE GOAL OF A RECONVENED CONFERENCE SHOULD
BE THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A COMPREHENSIVE CARDINAL POLITICAL
SETTLEMENT OF THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT ON THE BASIS OF THE
APPROPRIATE UN RESOLUTIONS, ABOVE ALL--SECURITY COUNCIL
RESOLUTION 338 AND GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION 3236;

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THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE WORK SHOULD BE DETER-
MINED BY AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN ALL ITS PARTICIPANTS.
UNQUOTE.

5. REGARDING THE OTHER QUESTIONS WHICH FAHMY RAISED WITH
YOU IN YOUR RECENT CONVERSATION, YOU MAY PROVIDE THE
FOLLOWING ANSWERS:

(A) AMBASSADOR MURPHY WILL BE RETURNING TO DAMASCUS OVER
THE WEEK END. AMBASSADOR PICKERING IS ALSO HERE FROM
AMMAN, AND WE ARE ASKING AMBASSADOR TOON TO COME BACK
OVER THE WEEK END. YOU SHOULD NOT MAKE TOO MUCH OF THIS,
BUT FAHMY SHOULD BE INFORMED. WE WILL SEND YOU MORE
DETAILED INSTRUCTIONS ON THIS AS SOON AS WE HAVE FINISHED
OUR CONSULTATIONS WITH THOSE AMBASSADORS. IN GENERAL, YOU

MAY SAY THAT WE WANTED TO BRIEF THEM ON OUR VIEWS IN THE
WAKE OF THE SINAI AGREEMENT AND PRESIDENT SADAT'S VISIT.

(B) THERE ARE NO PRESENT PLANS FOR A MEETING BETWEEN
PRESIDENTS ASAD AND FORD.

(C) KING HUSSEIN HAS INDICATED HIS DESIRE TO VISIT THE
U.S. IN MARCH, AND WE HAVE TOLD HIM THAT WE WOULD BE
PLEASED TO SEE HIM THEN. KISSINGER

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